

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8839

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 TOKYO 3728

FOR S/P - MICHAEL ARMACOST

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: US-JAPAN PLANNING TALKS

REF: STATE 064025

FOLLOWING IS GOJ PAPER ON THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS
OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES (ENERGY AND FOOD PROBLEMS).
THIS PAPER REPRESENTS THE PERSONAL VIEW OF A MEMBER OF
THE RESEARCH AND PLANNING DEPARTMENT AND HAS NOT BEEN
OFFICIALLY CLEARED WITHIN THE MINISTRY.

I. GENERAL OUTLOOK

1. THE WORLD ECONOMY HAD GENERALLY ENJOYED A SMOOTH
DEVELOPMENT SINCE WORLD WAR II UNTIL THE LATE 1960S',
WHEN STRAINS AROSE FROM SEVERAL INTERNATIONAL MONETARY
CRISES, WITH THE ECONOMIES OF SOME ADVANCED COUNTRIES
SOMEWHAT SKEWED IN THE PROCESS OF RAPID ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT. IT WAS WHEN THE WORLD WAS IN THE MIDST
OF SUCH STRAIN WITH ADJUSTMENTS STILL UNDER WAY THAT
THE FOURTH MIDDLE-EAST WAR AND THE OIL CRISIS BROKE

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OUT.

2. WHAT THEN MATTERED MOST WAS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE INCREASE IN OIL PRICES AND ITS RAPID PACE OF INCREASE WITHIN SUCH A BRIEF SPAN OF TIME. THIS HAS BROUGHT ABOUT AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF SO-CALLED OIL DOLLAR FOR THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES ON THE ONE HAND, WHILE ON THE OTHER IT ACCELERATED THE SO-CALLED TRILEMMA OF THE OIL-IMPORTING COUNTRIES (THE DETERIORATION IN THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, THE ACCELERATION OF INFLATIONARY SPIRAL, AND THE STAGNATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH). AS A RESULT, THERE EMERGED A LARGE-SCALE FUNDAMENTAL DISEQUILIBRIUM IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. HENCE A WIDE-SPREAD FEAR OF WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS AS WELL AS AN ANXIETY ABOUT A POSSIBLE POLITICAL CRISIS FOR THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND THE TIES BETWEEN THEM.

IT WAS ALSO UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THE TIGHTENING IN DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF FOOD TOOK PLACE, WHICH GENERATED FURTHER THE FEELING OF CRISIS.

3. HOWEVER, WITH THE SLACKENING OF THE OIL MARKET, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SOME INDICATIONS SUGGESTING THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY MIGHT BE GRADUALLY MOVING TOWARD A NEW EQUILIBRIUM; E.G. SYSTEMS OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AMONG THE ADVANCED NATIONS ARE BEING WORKED OUT (A FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN MADE IN SUCH FIELDS AS THE EMERGENCY OIL SHARING I.E. IEP, CONSERVATION, FINANCIAL COOPERATION, AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES,), WHILE THE OPEC COUNTRIES APPEAR TO HAVE SHOWN SIGNS OF A SLIGHT CHANGE IN THEIR ATTITUDE, AS INDICATED IN THE RECENT DECLARATION OF THE OPEC SUMMIT CONFERENCE WHICH, THOUGH WITH CERTAIN CONDITIONS, EXPRESSED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE WITH THE ADVANCED CONSUMER COUNTRIES.

4. SO FAR, THE DANGER OF A "WORLD CRISIS" HAS BEEN AVOIDED; RATHER, EVENTS IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS MAY BE CONSIDERED AS OFFERING A RAY OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, THERE STILL EXIST A POTENTIAL DANGER THAT THE WORLD MIGHT PLUNGE INTO A "WORLD CRISIS", DEPENDING

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UPON THE COURSE OF EVENTS TO FOLLOW IN THE FUTURE.

5. AMONG THE VARIOUS PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD ECONOMY, OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE IS THE OIL-ENERGY PROBLEM AND ITS OFF-SHOOTS. THE OTHER QUESTIONS SUCH AS RAW MATERIALS, FOOD PROBLEM ETC. HAVE BASICALLY DIFFERENT CHARACTERS, AND THEIR IMPACT UPON THE WORLD ECONOMY AND, FURTHER UPON THE WORLD POLITICS WOULD NOT BE

SO GREAT AS THAT OF THE OIL-ENERGY PROBLEM.

II. THE ENERGY PROBLEM

1. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

(1) DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(A) OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES

(I) THEY ARE NOW IN A POSITION TO EMPLOY OIL AS AN EFFECTIVE MEANS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

(II) HAVING POSSESSED AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE SURPLUS, THEY ARE NOW USING THE FUND FOR THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, FOR BANK DEPOSIT AND INVESTMENT IN THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, FOR AIDING OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND FOR BUYING WEAPONS.

(III) AS A RESULT, THEY ARE EMERGING IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE AS A NEW POWER. THAT IS, THE OIL-EXPORTING COUNTRIES HAVE GAINED A CONSIDERABLE POWER TO EXERCISE INFLUENCE ON THE FUTURE PROSPECT OF WORLD ECONOMY AS WELL AS OF THE MIDDLE-EAST SITUATION, WHILE INCREASING THEIR INFLUENCE ON OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SUCH AS THOSE IN THE MOSLEM BLOCK, AFRICA, AND SOUTH ASIA.

(IV) ALTHOUGH THEY NOW POSSESS AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF CAPITAL FUND, IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THEM TO OVERCOME SOCIAL BOTTLENECKS IN SUCH ASPECTS AS HUMAN RESOURCES AND MANAGEMENT CAPABILITIES, IN
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ORDER TO DEVELOP THEMSELVES INTO MODERN STATES.
THIS IS NOT A EASY TASK TO ACCOMPLISH.

(B) THE MIDDLE-EAST SITUATION

(I) WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, THE FACT THAT THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ARE NOW IN A POSITION TO USE OIL AS A STRONG POLITICAL MEANS HAS TIPPED THE RELATIVE BALANCE OF POWER IN FAVOR OF THE ARABS. MOREOVER, FINANCIAL AID BY THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE REINFORCEMENT OF ARMS ON THE ARAB SIDE; ISRAEL WILL KEEP ITS LEAD ON THE ARABS IN THE TOTAL MILITARY STRENGTH, BUT THE ARABS MIGHT BE ABLE TO NARROW THE GAP CONSIDERABLY WITHIN THE COMING SEVERAL YEARS, DEPENDING ON WHAT

MILITARY ASSISTANCE THE USSR AND FRANCE MAY GIVE TO
THE ARABS, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF NEW
SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS.

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FOR S/(4 - MICHAEL ARMACOST

(II) THE HEAVY ACCUMULATION OF WEAPONS IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, COUPLED WITH THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF THE
COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, ADDS TO THE INSTABILITY OF THE
SITUATION IN THE AREA.

(III) THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE RIVALRY
BETWEEN THE MAJOR POWERS ON THE GULF AREA MAY COME UP
TO THE SURFACE, WHICH WOULD FURTHER DESTABILIZE THE
SITUATION IN THE AREA.

(IV) AS COMPETITION AMONG ADVANCED NATIONS IS
INTENSIFIED IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS ARMS SALES TO THE OIL-PRODUCING
COUNTRIES, THE COMPLICATION OF INTERESTS AMONG THE BIG
POWERS OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE-EAST TENDS TO GROW FURTHER.

(V) THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF MONARCHIES IN
THE MIDDLE-EAST MIGHT BECOME PRECARIOUS IN THE FUTURE
THROUGH THE POSSIBLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

IN THEIR COUNTRIES PROMPTED BY THE HUGE OIL REVENUES AND ALSO THROUGH THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE FROM RADICAL ARAB COUNTRIES.

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(C) SOME MOVES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH REGARD TO /THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER"

(I) THE FACT THAT THE "OIL STRATEGY" DEALT A SEVERE BLOW AT THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER HAS STIMULATED "RESOURCES NATIONALISM" OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

(II) THE RESOURCE-RICH COUNTRIES HAVE MOVED TO STRENGTHEN THEIR CONTROL OVER NATURAL RESOURCES IN THEIR TERRITORIES, EXEMPLIFIED IN THEIR MOVES TO TAKE DOMESTIC MEASURES FOR THE NATIONALIZATION OF THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES AND FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT CONTROLS, TO FORM RESOURCE-EXPORTING COUNTRIES ORGANIZATIONS, OR TO ADOPT RESOLUTIONS IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA ON PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES.

(III) THOUGH THE NON OIL-PRODUCING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ABOUT THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES THEY SUFFER, WHICH WERE GENERATED BY THE RAPID AND ENORMOUS RISE OF OIL PRICES, THEY JOIN THE COMMON FRONT WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON THE WHOLE, AS THEY HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO MAKING GREATER DEMANDS ON ADVANCED COUNTRIES.

(2) THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES

(A) THE IMPACT OF THE OIL CRISIS WAS GREAT, PARTICULARLY ON THE WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, RESULTING IN INCREASED INTERNATIONAL FRICTIONS ARISING FROM THE GROWING ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN THOSE COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE DIS-HARMONY IN THE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF THEIR ECONOMIC AND TRADE POLICIES (E.G. PROTECTIONIST MOVES ETC.).

(B) THE WEAKENED ECONOMY BECAME A SOURCE OF POLITICAL

(C) FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES HAVE BROUGHT CUT-DOWNS IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES, RESULTING IN THE DECREASE IN

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SUBSTANCE OF THE MILITARY STRENGTH.

(D) THE REALIZATION OF THE ACUTENESS OF THE SITUATION HAS PROMPTED THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE SYSTEMS, E.G., THE CREATION OF THE IEA ETC.

(3) SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

(A) THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTABILITY AS WELL AS THE WEAKENED MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE WEST ARE OF RELATIVE ADVANTAGE TO THE EASTERN BLOCK.

(B) THE SOVIET GRIP ON THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED DUE TO THEIR GREATER DEPENDENCE UPON THE USSR.

(C) THE USSR HAS OBTAINED MORE CAPITAL FUND FROM THE INCREASE OF OIL REVENUES.

(D) THE USSR, GIVING PRIORITY TO ENSURING ECONOMIC COOPERATION FROM THE WEST, SEEMS TO REGARD IT AS A BETTER OPTION FOR A WHILE TO TAKE A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE, AND TO MAINTAIN WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE WEST, RATHER THAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE WEST TO INTENSIFY ITS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, WHICH IN TURN MIGHT SERVE FOR STRENGTHENING UNITY AMONG THE WEST.

2. JAPAN'S POSITION

JAPAN HAS BEEN PARTICIPATING IN COOPERATIVE EFFORTS AMONG THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, IN A MANNER SUITABLE TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS ECONOMY, TO ENSURE A STABLE SUPPLY OF ENERGY RESOURCES AT REASONABLE PRICES. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT MUST BE BORN IN MIND THAT JAPAN HAS THE FOLLOWING CHARACTERISTICS:-

(1) OVERSEAS ENERGY DEPENDENCY

(A) HIGHEST DEPENDENCY AMONG THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES ON THE OVERSEAS PRIMARY ENERGY SOURCES;

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(B) HIGH DEPENDENCY ON OIL AMONG PRIMARY ENERGY SOURCES WITH 100 PERCENT OVERSEAS OIL DEPENDENCY; AND

(C) HIGH DEPENDENCY ON THE MIDDLE EAST OIL.

(2) ENERGY CONSUMPTION STRUCTURE

(A) HIGH PROPORTION OF ENERGY CONSUMPTION IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR, I.E., A STRONGER DEFLATIONARY EFFECT BY OIL CONSERVATION.

(B) ENERGY CONSUMPTION ELASTICITY TO GNP IS HIGH.

(C) ENERGY CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA IS FAR BELOW THAT OF MAJOR ADVANCED COUNTRIES.

(3) DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES

(A) DUE TO LACK OF ENERGY RESOURCES SUCH AS NATURAL GAS, COAL, URANIUM ETC., JAPAN HAS A GREAT DIFFICULTY IN DEVELOPING DOMESTICALLY ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES.

(B) THE POPULAR FEELING AGAINST ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND THE "NUCLEAR ALLERGY" IN GENERAL TENDS TO DELAY PROJECTS FOR NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS.

3. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPAN

(1) IN RELATION TO THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES:-

TO STRIVE FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND RESTORATION OF SOLIDARITY AMONG THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS FOR MUTUAL ADJUSTMENTS OF ECONOMIC, MONETARY AND ENERGY POLICIES.

(2) IN RELATION TO RESOURCE-RICH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES:-

TO STRESS MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, AND TO SEEK THEIR COOPERATION FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A FREE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

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(3) IN RELATION TO THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES:-

(A) TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION AMONG THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, WHILE PREVENTING CONFRONTATION WITH THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES, AND TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES.

(B) TO EXTEND COOPERATION TO THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES FOR THEIR SOUND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER ADVANCED COUNTRIES.

(C) TO EXPLORE WORKABLE SCHEMES BY WHICH THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES MAY BECOME ASSOCIATED WITH THE "ESTABLISHMENT" IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, IN ORDER THAT THEY WOULD FIND COMMON INTEREST IN A SOUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD ECONOMY.

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FOR S/P - MICHAEL ARMACOST

(D) IN RELATION TO THE MIDDLE-EAST COUNTRIES:-

(I) TO ENDEAVOR TO ESTABLISH HARMONIOUS AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS;

(II) TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS FOR STABILIZATION OF THE MIDDLE-EAST SITUATION; AND

(III) TO EXPLORE WAYS TO RESTRAIN THE RACE OF ARMS SALES BY ADVANCED COUNTRIES TO THE MIDDLE-EAST COUNTRIES.

(E) TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES OF EXTENDING DEVELOPMENT AID TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BY COMBINING THE OIL PRODUCERS' SURPLUSES WITH THE TECHNOLOGY OF THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES.

(F) TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN FRIENDLY RELATIONS
WITH THE COASTAL COUNTRIES SO AS TO ENSURE THE SECURITY
OF THE OIL TANKER ROUTE TO JAPAN.

(4) IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:-
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WHILE MAINTAINING AN UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDE TOWARD
THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO
HOLD IN CHECK THEIR TENDENCY TOWARD CONFRONTATION WITH
THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES. IN THIS CONNECTION, MEASURES
SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ENABLE NON OIL-PRODUCERS AMONG THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF
MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES.

(5) IN RELATION TO THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:-

FIRST OF ALL, IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN AND
STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN
JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH SERVES AS THE BASIS
FOR JAPAN TO EXECUTE ITS POLICY TOWARD THE USSR AND
THE PRC; AND ALSO TO MAINTAIN STABLE RELATIONS WITH
THE USSR AND THE PRC THROUGH THE CONTINUED DIALOGUE AND
THE PROMOTION OF WORKING RELATIONS. AS REGARDS LARGE-SCALE
PROJECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENERGY RESOURCES
IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, JOINT UNDERTAKING BY JAPAN
AND THE UNITED STATES IS MOST DESIRABLE.

III. THE FOOD PROBLEM

1. THE CURRENT TRENDS

THE CONCERN FOR THE FOOD PROBLEM IN RECENT YEARS
HAS BEEN GENERATED BY THE GENERAL FEELINGS OF UNCERTAINTY
FOR THE FUTURE DUE TO THE SERIES OF EVENTS INCLUDING
THE TIGHTENING IN DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF FOOD FROM 1972 TO
1974, THE PUBLICATION OF THE /ROME CLUB" REPORT, THE OIL
EMBARGO ETC. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1975, HOWEVER,
THERE APPEARED A SLACKENING IN THE DEMAND AND SUPPLY
SITUATION OF FOOD. IT IS NOW ESTIMATED, IN THE LONG
TERM PERSPECTIVE, THAT THE SHORTAGE OF FOOD IN THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL BE COVERED IN THE FUTURE BY
THE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF FOOD IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

2. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPAN

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(1) TO STRIVE FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND EXPANSION OF A SMOOTH AND STABLE TRADE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, AND TOMAKE DIVERSIFIED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AN INTER-NATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS PURPOSE THROUGH SUCH FORA AS THE MULTILATERAL TRADENEGOTIATIONS;

(2) TO BEAR IN MIND THAT ALLOWING AN AGRICULTURAL PROTECTIONISM (AS FOR INSTANCE A POLICY TO RAISE SELF-SUFFICIENCY DISREGARDING ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES) ON THE PREPOSITION THAT THE TIGHT DEMAND-SUPPLY SITUATION WOULD CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME WOULD RESULT IN A COSTLY CHOICE FOR THE JAPANESE ECONOMY AND WOULD RUN A GREAT RISK OF HINDERING A SOUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD TRADE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS; AND

(3) TO PROMOTE FURTHER ITS ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FOR THEIR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE PROMOTION OF THEIR FOOD PRODUCTION, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE ESSENCE OF THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM LIES IN RESOLVING THE SHORTAGE OF FOOD AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
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